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Vol. 54, No. 1 Whole Number 433

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

THE COVER—Linda Jan Anderson, 4, is the daughter of Frances and Bill Anderson (the Glimpses of Childhood Photographer). Her companion is George Thorne, Jr., 5, son of Dr. and Mrs. George Thorne. The families live in Harlem and Dr. Thorne is on the staff of Sydenham hospital. Mr. Anderson started his photographs of children as a hobby and now has several thousand negatives in his file, among them some recent shots of Joe Louis's daughter.

•

TOLLY R. BROADY ("Will Two Good White Men Vouch for You?" page 10) has had a varied career. He was for a number of years an assistant in the research department of Tuskegee Institute. Out of this experience came his article, "Poll Tax: Symbol of Oppression," published in the *Crisis*, June, 1941. From Tuskegee Mr. Broady went into the Army as an officer. He is now stationed in New York and works as a supervisor of GI scholarship students in the Metropolitan area.

•

THE ARTICLE ("Edward Brandford—Commercial Artist," page 11) on the Brandford studio was prepared by George Petry, one of the members of the firm.

•

GEORGE F. McCRAY ("The Crisis in Jamaican Self-Rule," page 13) lives in Chicago, Ill. He is a free lance writer specializing in Caribbean affairs.

•

ERIC WALROND ("By the River Avon," page 17) is already familiar to *Crisis* readers as one of that brilliant galaxy of Negro writers who helped to bring about the Negro literary renaissance of the early '20s. His *Tropic Death* (1926) startled with its freshness of material and strength of style. This was a collection of ten stories dealing with the tragic lives of the poor in the West Indies and Panama.

He writes that he now has another book of stories under his hat. Some of the stories are tales of Negro GIs in Britain, of which "By the River Avon" is one. Mr. Walrond lives at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, England.

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College and School News

BENNETT COLLEGE was host in November to the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the North Carolina Negro College Conference. Conference discussions centered around equalization of teachers' salaries, subsidization of public and private institutions desiring to provide permanent housing facilities for veterans, and Negro representation on the State Veterans Commission of North Carolina.

Speakers at the meeting were Dr. Brown and Dr. Nelson Harris, of Shaw university. New conference officers are Dean C. L. Halliburton, St. Augustine, president; Dr. L. S. Cozart, Barber-Scotia, vice-president; Dean F. R. Payne, Shaw, treasurer; and Dean J. B. MacRae, Fayetteville, secretary.

Principal address at the fall convocation of MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE on October 31 was delivered by Dr. E. L. Turner, former president of the college and now dean of the school of medicine at the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Dr. Turner reviewed the rapid progress of scientific medicine during the past few years and outlined the possible advances that this generation of students might anticipate.

Recent additions to the teaching staff of the college are Dr. Carr A. Treherne, of the class of '43, to the department of obstetrics and Dr. Gurney D. Holloway as professor of clinical pathology. Dr. W. H. Grant has been appointed chairman of the committee responsible for the operation of the department of medicine during the 1946-47 school year. Dr. Quinland, professor of pathology since 1922, has been appointed chairman of the committee on postgraduate education for the school of medicine for 1946-47.

Mary Lee Brown, director of public health nursing and instructor in the college, has been chosen as one of the five nurses to receive the Isabel Hampton Robb memorial fund award, which will permit her to pursue advanced study at Harvard during 1946-47.

Five members of the staff of HAMPTON INSTITUTE are on sabbatical leave: Mrs. Amanda Peele Horne, for study at the University of Chicago; Lester T. Perisho, at Iowa State college; William M. Cooper, at Teachers College, Columbia; Gideon E. Smith, at Michigan

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State college; and Benjamin Smith, at the University of Chicago.

Dr. FRANCIS M. HAMMOND

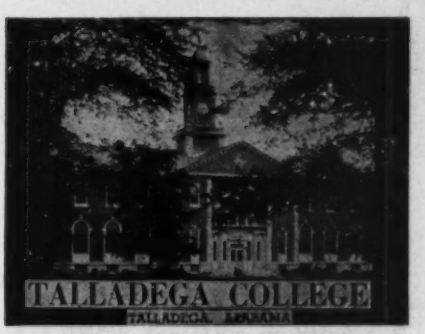
SETON HALL COLLEGE, a Catholic Institution at South Orange, N. J., has recently added Dr. Francis M. Hammond to its staff as a teacher of philosophy, according to an announcement of President Msgr. James F. Kelley.

Dr. Hammond had previously taught at Southern and Xavier universities. He was educated at Xavier, University of New Orleans, University of Louvain, Belgium, and at Laval university, Canada, where he received his doctorate.

Appearing at WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE recently were dancer Pearl Primus and the well-known artist Harry Gottlieb. Colonel Leon F. Lavoie, professor of military science and tactics of the ROTC unit, has announced receipt at the college of a shipment of field artillery, including one 105 and one 155 millimeter howitzers. A recent visitor at the college was Mme. Fortuna Guery, national supervisor of elementary education in the public schools of Haiti.

A memorial program in honor of Armistice Day was conducted by the college veterans' club on November 10, with Daniel P. Lincoln, registrar, as speaker.

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE celebrated its annual 1946-homecoming on November 16-17, with the return to the campus of more than two hundred graduates and former students. Annual service of worship was held November 17, with Rev. Clinton March as speaker.



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The Dixwell group—an organization of YALE UNIVERSITY undergraduates and residents of New Haven—has recently appointed an education committee to encourage qualified Negroes to apply for admission to Yale college, the undergraduate division of the university. Scholarship aid in limited amounts and part-time jobs are available to help meet the cost.

Applications must be procured from, filed with, and approved by the board of admissions of Yale. However, applicants are requested to notify Morton Binder, chairman of the education committee of the Dixwell group, at 564 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., upon the filing of their applications in order that they may be followed up by the committee. Interested parties may secure complete information by writing to Morton Binder, or Charles L. Fielding, at 567 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

FISK UNIVERSITY has announced fifty-nine students as being on the dean's list for the first semester of 1946-47. To achieve this honor, which is based on cumulative grades for the second semester of 1945-46, a student must be an undergraduate working for a degree, carry fourteen or more semester hours during the preceding semester, and secure an average of 2.80 quality points with no mark below C.

Danton Russell, tenor, gave a song recital at the college on November 10; and Orrin Clayton Suthern, concert organist from Dillard, an organ recital on November 17. The Fisk Stagecrafters inaugurated their 1946-47 season in the Little Theatre with three performances of Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*.

A special program in honor of new-president Dr. Charles S. Johnson was held in Memorial Chapel on November 4. Greetings were presented on behalf of the faculty by Dr. Clarence Van Horn, head of mathematics department; for the student council, by Robert E. Lee, president; for the alumni, by Dr. St. Elmo Brady, chairman of the executive commiteee of the General Alumni Association and chemistry department head; for the inter-fraternity council, by Bernice Merriweather, president; and for the students-at-large by Mary Louise Milner.

Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant, director of education for the American Missionary Association, has been granted a three-months leave of absence to work as assistant director of the project for the adult education of Negroes in the U. S. Office of Education.

SPELMAN COLLEGE presented Bruce Thomas, well-known lecturer, on No-

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vember 8 in a talk on the Bikini atom bomb test. Newspaper reports on the test, he said, were wholly inadequate and frequently misleading. Kemper Harreld, head of the music department of the university system, gave a violin concert at the college on November 9.

A recent speaker at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE was Dr. Clark H. Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, who spoke on "The Southern Political Scene."

The CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL began its sixth year of worker education on January 6. This is the only progressive labor school in the country where veterans can study under the GI bill benefits.

SHAW UNIVERSITY observed the 81st anniversary of its founding on November 22, with the annual address being delivered by Dr. George O. Bullock, pastor of the Third Baptist church, Washington, D. C.

Twelve students of the university have been chosen for listing in *Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities.*

The Albert Einstein Foundation, Inc., by unanimous vote of its board of directors, has named the university it proposes to open a year from now, BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY, after the late justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, Louis D. Brandeis.

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) began the first in its series of broadcasts entitled

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"Freedom Road" over station WPEN on October 20. The program can be heard every Sunday at 10:05 A.M. at 950 on the radio dial.

Herrick Young, a member of the Missionary board of the Presbyterian church, was a recent lecturer at Lincoln on the subject "Faith Around the World."

Among the recent speakers at ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE have been Maurice A. Lee, of the college faculty; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, director of special research NAACP; and Dr. R. T. Adair, local physician and surgeon. First lyceum feature of the school year was the appearance of Raphael Desylva, Chilean pianist and music teacher of New York City. The college reports an enrollment of 1,098 students for the first quarter.

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY was recently host to the annual meeting of the Negro Inter-Collegiate Dramatic Association. Representatives from dramatic groups at Hampton, A & T, Shaw, Bennett, Howard, and Virginia State attended and participated in the sessions.

A recent issue of *The Religious Herald* carried Dr. John M. Ellison's article, "A Century of Negro Baptist Progress." The journal is the official organ of the white Baptists of Virginia. On November 14 Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor of sociology and economics at the university, paid tribute to the works of Booker T. Washington over the Columbia network.

Annual homecoming day at DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE was celebrated November 16, with the return to the campus of more than five hundred alumni and friends. The home economics class of the college participated in the Sussex County 4-H achievement fair.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE reports the following faculty members as being on leave: Robert S. Burgess and Hilda Davis, to study at the University of Chicago; James O. Hopson, at the University of Pittsburgh; and Johnnie Parker, at New York university.

CHEYNEY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE announces the following additions to its faculty and teaching staff: Dr. Lulu Merle Johnson, as dean of women and instructor in history; Mildred R. Barkeley, as resident nurse and assistant household director; Richard A. Carroll, as instructor in English; Robert M. Mask, as member of the business staff; Estella Scott Johnson, as part-time teacher and administrative assistant to the president; Frances H. Craig, as assistant to the administrative staff; and Ulysses C. Chambre, as instructor in music, after an absence of four years.

Wide World

YOUNG STUDENTS LEARN FLORISTY — *The recently opened floristy shop in Harlem's vocational high school, 21 W. 138th St. Students taking the comprehensive course will work in a shop decked out in a professional manner, with more than 200 varieties of flowers, attractive vases, glassware, and water-color paintings on the wall. Dr. Edward L. Washington, is the acting principal.*

Three performances of *Deep Are the Roots,* recent Broadway stage hit, were presented by the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) Stagecrafters on November 22-24. David M. Grant, attorney-at-law, was the principal speaker at the annual Negro achievement program of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity on November 10. New veterans' administration officers at the university veterans' guidance center are Dennis Chestnut, St. Louis, advisement center, and Robert Clark, Evanston, Ill., training section. Tony Green, oldest living alumnus of Lincoln, a graduate of the class of '84, visited the campus during the observance of homecoming day. He lives in Seattle, Washington.

Second annual statewide feature writing contest for high school juniors and seniors of Missouri has been announced by Miss Theo Nix, acting director of the Lincoln university school of journalism.

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Editorials

HAPPY NEW YEAR

EVERY January, beginning with 1911 when *The Crisis* was only two months old, we have been wishing our readers a Happy New Year, no matter how black the "race" situation seemed to be at the time.

There is a great temptation to be cynical about the improvement of the human race. The cynics seem to be so sure, so arrogantly confident as mankind repeats over and over again the stupidities and cruelties of centuries ago. The people of faith and hope seem so like Pollyanna as they marshal their slender evidence, their scattered citations of human conduct deemed to be setting a new pattern.

The new year of 1947 is here and it would seem that DuBois's famous phrase, "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line," is more sharply to the fore than at any time since the truism was uttered. American Negroes, together with their old friends of bygone travail and battle, and their new young friends, keen and eager for the fray, have a world-wide, blood-spattered, rubble-strewn stage upon which to carry forward their action. A Georgia lynching echoes in the Kremlin. Palestine injustice affects ballots in America. Indonesian revolt rocks Dutch economy. The stench from South African near-slavery floats 10,000 miles to wrinkle the nostrils of delegates to the United Nations Assembly. The exploitation of the Chinese may create a vast, united Asiatic empire with consequent incalculable affect on the western world.

There is work to be done in 1947 and the years beyond, rich, rewarding work, work that conceivably may save mankind from itself. Happy New Year!

SMEARING OUR SOLDIERS

EVEN though the war is over, our soldiers continue to be the victims of smearing campaigns. The latest is the Meader report on American occupation of Germany.

Although the report is unofficial (having been disclaimed by the Kilgore committee), it has been used to denounce all Negro soldiers abroad. By actual count, the discussion of Negro soldiers covers only three pages in a 90-page document, yet Senator Owen Brewster (Republican of Maine) inflated the section on Negroes into an inflammatory article for *Liberty*.

Apparently the findings which have irritated Senator Brewster and his fellow Republicans are those which indicate that German women do not draw the color line in associating with American soldiers. In the eyes of Senator Brewster and many another American, this is a "crime" about which "something must be done." Most Americans are very unhappy when they find people over the globe who do not pay as much attention to the color line as we do here in the world's greatest democracy. All over the world during the war we tried to educate other peoples on the "proper" attitude toward American Negroes.

Needless to say, American military government in Germany involves social, economic and political questions of gigantic proportions, the handling of which will affect profits and peace. Beside this great issue, the behavior of a few Negro troops is of no real importance, whether the charges are true or untrue. But with America so emotionally im- in the world's greatest democracy.

troops can serve Senator Brewster and his fellows well in furthering their larger objectives.

This is good jockeying, but is it smart politics on the home front? Looking forward to 1948, is it good politics for the Republicans to kick their Negro supporters in the face with a vicious smear of Negro men in uniform?

SOUTH AFRICA REBUKED

OUT of all the questions discussed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its seven-week meeting in New York, the delicate one of racial discrimination was by far the most significant. It was brought up at the very outset by two issues: South Africa's desire to annex South West Africa, and India's charge that South Africa's laws discriminated against Indians living there, solely on the basis of race.

Prime Minister Jan Christiaan Smuts of South Africa lost on both issues. The UN voted against annexation, holding that sufficient proof had not been submitted to show that the South West African population wanted annexation. In the debate South Africa and Smuts took a beating on their treatment of natives in their own land. Not in memory has a sovereign nation, at a world-wide council of nations, had its racial discrimination policies discussed and condemned as were those of South Africa at Lake Success. Heretofore these things, while well known, have been smothered in committee.

On the second issue Mrs. Vijaya Pandit, head of the Indian delegation, defeated Smuts and South Africa in a brilliant campaign of maneuver and oratory. The UN finally voted to direct South Africa to revise its treatment of the Indian minority in the light of the provisions of the UN Charter.

In times past nothing has seemed to affect in the slightest degree South Africa's attitude toward race relations. But the UN discussions got under her skin. A cautious dispatch from Pretoria, South Africa, to *The New York Times* says the UN discussions "provoked introspection in this country." It quotes acting Prime Minister Hofmeyr as saying: "At this time, in particular, it is being brought home to South Africa as never before that in this matter (of race relations) we are part of a wider and sometimes very critical world and that we cannot live unto ourselves alone."

Does all this mean that American Negroes might possibly get before the UN for an airing of their minority problem? Possibly, but not probably. Meanwhile a serviceable guide post has been set up by the rebuke of South Africa.

HEROES AND GOAT

THE heroes of the Bilbo hearings are the Mississippi Negroes who braved terror and physical violence to testify against Senator Bilbo and the Mississippi political system. The goat, of course, is Senator Bilbo, who has been exposed as an advocate of violence to keep Negroes from the polls, and as a man who received endless gifts in cash and services from "friends" who happened at the same time to be contractors who were paid fat fees for construction work done in Mississippi for the U.S. government. The United States Senate can keep this man as a member if it can stand the implications involved, but the people of America are through with him. As for his assertions that Negroes are unfit to vote and hold office—Well!

"Will Two Good White Men Vouch For You?"

By Tolly R. Broady

Alabama's recent adoption of the Boswell Amendment gives timely interest to the experiences of this Negro elector

ON October 7, 1941, I appeared before the Board of Registrars in an Alabama county and this is a true account of what happened. After I had stated my desire to register, I was asked if I had "three hundred dollars worth of taxable property." I replied in the negative and added that it was my understanding that the property qualification was an alternative to the literacy qualification.

"No! you will have to have three hundred dollars worth of property or forty acres of land. After a lapse of a few minutes I asked if I would be permitted to file an application? "Yes, I will take your application but the board will have to pass on you and you don't have three hundred dollars worth of taxable property and that is one of the qualifications. Do you know two white persons who will vouch for you?

"Yes," I replied giving her the names of two local shopkeepers.

"One of these persons will have to come in and sign for you," she explained.

I left the office of the board of registrars and went across the street to a radio shop where I had recently purchased a radio. After I had made known the nature of my visit the shopkeeper promised that he would go over later that afternoon and sign for me. On October 9 I called the radio shop and asked the proprietor whether he had found the time to go over and vouch for me the day before. He stated that he did not find such an opportunity but that he would try to find time that day. On October 10 and 13 I called with the same result. The polls closed on October 13, reopening November 4. On the morning of November 4, I called the shopkeeper and he told me to come to his place of business at 2:00 P.M. I went to the radio store at 2:00 and I was told that the owner was out of town.

Hunting the Avouchment

I resolved that I had better try to get some one else to vouch for me, so I went over to one of the local clothing stores and asked to see the proprietor. After asking me several questions the clothing store proprietor said that he knew me but "not well enough to take an oath," but that if I could get the cashier at the bank, where I had an account, to telephone him he would be glad to go over. I went to the bank and explained the trouble I was having and he consented to call the clothing store owner. But every time the cashier called the owner of the shop would be out. A few days later I went to the postmaster and asked him to call the clothing store owner. He did while I waited. After he had finished talking over the telephone, I was told that I should go to the clothing store that day at 1:55 P.M.

At approximately 2:30 P.M., on November 12, I appeared once more before the board of registrars in the company of the clothing store proprietor. Before I had an opportunity to explain that I had at long last been successful in getting someone to vouch for me, a member of the board explained: "We have investigated your application and I find that you don't have three hundred dollars worth of property or 40 acres of land and that's one of the qualifications." I asked again if this property qualification was not an alternative to the literacy qualification under Article VIII, Section 181 of the State Constitution, and I then proceeded to quote the sections.

After I had finished quoting from the state constitution, the man I had brought over to vouch for me turned and said, "Boy, it doesn't make any difference whether you graduated from Harvard; if you don't have the property you can't register." Without further comment I turned and walked slowly from the office. The clothing store owner followed. "Well, he said, "I guess you got to get $300 worth of property or 40 acres of land somewhere." I replied that I had no such intentions and that I intended to register, since there were provisions in the constitution for determining one's qualifications. He looked a little stunned as I turned to leave him.

On November 13 I presented myself before the board of registrars in the company of two other electors and asked what were the qualifications for an elector. When I was told that you had to have the property qualification, one of the electors asked when the amendment had been passed making both qualifications necessary.

Ignorant of Amendment

One of the board members replied that she knew nothing about amendments, but that she had "marked the place in the book" which gave the qualifications. She then proceeded to read the passages. When she had finished reading the first qualification, she was asked her interpretation of the "or" between the paragraphs. To this she replied that the board of registrars got their interpretation from the attorney general. We asked to see the ruling, or at least where we might get an official interpretation of the "or". We were referred to the probate judge after one member of the board stated

(Continued on page 27)

BOSWELL AMENDMENT

On November 5 Alabama voters wrote the Boswell amendment, a measure frankly aimed at preventing mass registration of Negroes, into the state constitution. This provision requires all would-be voters to be able to "read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language." The amendment repeals the second section of section 181 which made any citizen eligible to vote who possessed $300 or more of taxable property.

An additional provision is that those who are entitled to register as electors must be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government.

These changes will make it considerably easier for registration officials to disfranchise Negroes without running afoul of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Edward Brandford—Commercial Artist

The first three years of a studio and the first five months of a model agency

IN the field of commercial art, admittedly one of the most highly competitive in New York City, Edward Brandford has built an enormously successful business. His clients include some of the largest business firms and advertising agencies in the country. His latest venture is an agency to supply models for advertising and promotion.

Located in the downtown section of New York, Brandford Studios employ a staff of artists of both races. Practically every type of art work is executed there.

A native of Jamaica, B.W.I., Brandford came to this country in 1924. "I've always wanted to draw," he said. "I suppose I'm one of the lucky few people in the world working at the thing they like to do best."

In his late thirties, Brandford's hair is almost completely gray. He is tall and slender, his appearance giving no indication of the tremendous determination and persistence he possesses. It is not unusual for him to put in a working day of fourteen or sixteen hours. The one question most often asked him is, "How did you get started in art?" His reply never fails to startle: "I took a correspondence course." The school that sold him the course still advertises, but Brandford says he's never met anyone else who took it and became an artist.

His First Job

After completing the course he felt he was ready to apply for a job, so he approached the firm that was then Doubleday, Doran & Co., in the hope of getting employment as a commercial artist. "As I look back now," he said, "I still can't understand why they didn't throw me out bodily along with my very amateurish drawings. Instead, they were most kind and told me I should study some more and work very hard." Later, years later, he did design book jackets for Doubleday, Dial Press, Pocket Books, Avon Books and other publishers.

After taking the art director's advice and enrolling at Cooper Union, Brandford worked at a variety of jobs, as elevator operator, messenger, and factory hand. As with most people who work while attending school, he found the going very difficult. He states, "Often I was so tired in class, I'd fall asleep at the drawing table, pencil in hand. But I managed to stick it out and graduate."

When he graduated, he decided to become a serious artist. He used to spend Sundays in Central Park painting landscapes and people. One of his pictures received honorable mention in the Harmon Foundation exhibition. He soon discarded the idea, however.

"Actually," Brandford said, "I don't believe my heart was ever set on art for art's sake. I was not satisfied merely to paint "pretty pictures." I wanted my work to perform a function, whether that function was to sell soap, advertise candy bars, or even help put a politcian in office."

Having picked commercial art as a career, he got a job in the art department of a large firm which did all the printing for the city of New York. Just when he thought he was on his way to success, investigators uncovered the fact that the city was paying much more than it should for its printing. So, along with Jimmy Walker, who was then mayor, the firm went out of business and Brandford was out of a job.

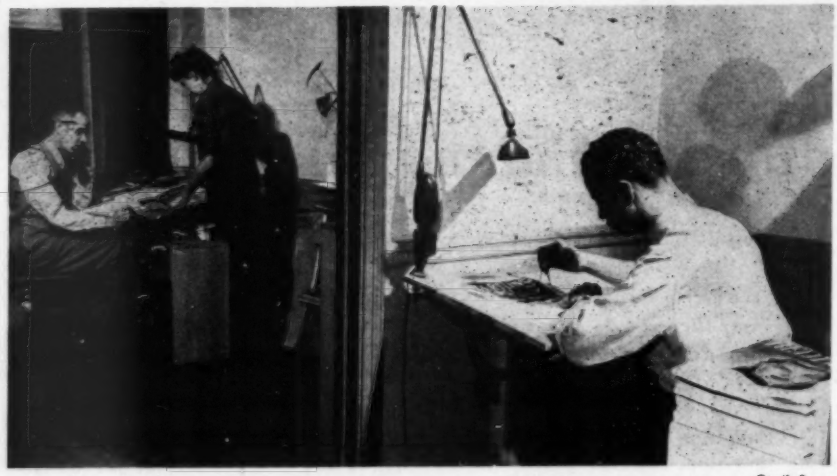
"This was during the depression," he said. "Since the city was full of unemployed artists I thought I'd try my hand as a free lance cartoonist. I soon discovered that being a cartoonist involves more than originating a funny situation and thinking up a gag line to go with it. Besides, every other artist out of a job was tryig the same thing. So, I had to give up that idea."

Brandford does advertising layouts for many of the country's leading commercial products, Shar-Loo slips, Hueblein's club cocktails, Bacardi rum, and Beck's shoes. He has also done book jackets for many best sellers. Pictured here is some of this work.

His First Big Break

Shortly afterward he got a job at the Lutz and Sheinkman Corporation, one of the largest color lithographers in the country. Brandford feels that this was one of the biggest breaks in his career. It was there he acquired a thorough, practical knowledge of lithography, layout and various printing processes. It was during this period he began designing publications. Later he created the original format for the newspaper, *The People's Voice*. When the paper was launched he went to work in its art department. While there he constantly received urgent requests for his art work from outside firms. In 1943 he finally opened his own art studio in a one room office on 42nd Street.

This venture was a success from th very beginning. Orders came in fas than he could execute them and si



Cecil Lane

Scenes in the Brandford studio. Branford with phone and one of his women assistants. At right, Brandford artists works on a layout.

the war was going on Brandford found it impossible to get help. In order to finish assignments on time he often worked sixteen and eighteen hours a day, often missing meals. As a result he developed stomach ulcers. Instead of slowing down and taking treatment he continued to work until one day he fainted from a severe attack. When he recovered consciousness an ambulance had arrived to take him to the hospital. Rather than create a lot of excitement he refused to let himself be taken down on the stretcher, but insisted on walking down five flights of stairs. "I never thought he'd make it alive," the ambulance interne declared. "Never saw a guy with so much guts."

Starts Model Agency

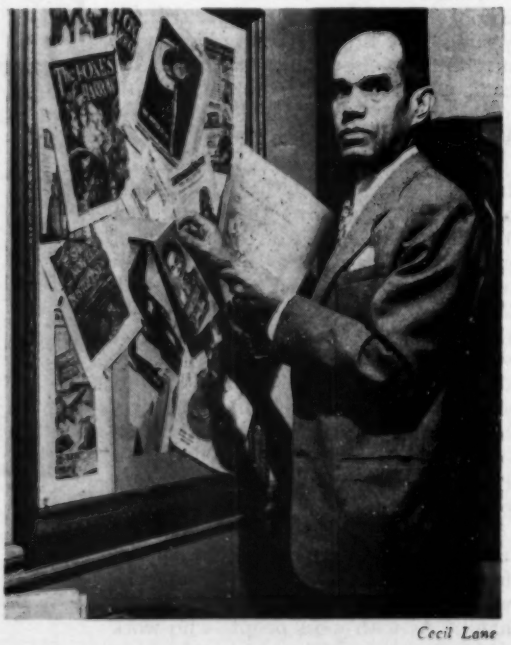
During his convalescence Brandford got the idea of starting an agency with Negro models. The people with whom he talked it over tried to discourage him. Once out of the hospital he went ahead with the plan and last July had an opening at the Hotel Astor for the press. All of the metropolitan newspapers and advertising and trade publications sent representatives.

Brandford told the gathering.. "Negroes in America represent buying power equal to that of the people of Canada. Until fairly recently this market has been pretty much ignored by the manufacturers of nationally advertised products. My idea of having a model agency is not merely to show glamour girls wearing beautiful clothes. There's no reason why advertising for cigarettes or automobiles or any of the hundreds of other products we use should not make use of Negro models."

Artistic talent is in evidence throughout the Brandford family. His wife, Thelma, is an expert fashion designer. Jacqueline, the daughter, attends the High School of Music and Art and shows promise of becoming quite an artist; while Paul, the son, can also draw well, but wants to become an engineer.

When asked for advice for aspiring young commercial artists, Brandford said, "First, it is necessary to learn to draw. It may seem foolish for me to say that, but it is amazing to see the number of people who say they want to be artists, but who do not take the trouble to learn the fundamentals of the craft. Enroll at a good art school. Try also to learn the various printing processes. Learn to letter. Above all, work at it every minute you can."

Edward Brandford's own career suggests that this is sound advice. For he is the art director of a national magazine about babies, creates layouts for quantities of newspaper advertising, and designs brochures and catalogues for countless business firms.



Cecil Lane

Edward Brandford pins up some of the book jackets he has designed: Foxes of Harrow, Hair Styles, Short Novels of Dostovesky, etc.

GRANTS-IN-AID for RESEARCH on MINORITY GROUP PROBLEMS

The commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, 212 West 50th St., New York 19, N. Y., has allocated $10,000 for the academic year 1946-47 to a program of grants-in-aid for research by university social science students on minority group problems.

The commission hopes to induce many of the graduate and undergraduate students in the social sciences who are doing research projects in connection with their academic work to carry out projects in the field of minority group problems and intergroup relations.

CCI will attempt to make such projects attractive by providing information about related projects which have been and are being done, suggesting methods and areas of research which might not have occurred to the students themselves, paying most of the research expenses, and aiding in publication of the results.

It is the belief of the CCI that this grants-in-aid program will be most productive if the majority of studies made in any one year are cncentrated in two or three specified research areas. The two areas chosen for 1946-47 are (1) objective measures of discrimination against minority groups, and (2) effects of contact between members of different groups on intergoup attitudes and behavior.

Crisis in Jamaican Self-Rule

By George F. McCray

If you want an explanation of the intricacies of Jamaican unionism and the reasons for the extreme bitterness between her two dominant political leaders, you must read this piece

IN the densely populated, predominantly Negro colony of Jamaica, key island in the British West Indies, the extreme bitterness between two dominant Negro political leaders is erupting in mob-violence, bloodshed, and widespread social disorder. The red hot rivalries between William Alexander Bustamante's Labor Party and his Bustamante Industrial Trade Union known as the BITU on one hand and Norman Washington Manley's Peoples National Party and the Trade Union Council on the other are creating a situation menacing the whole self-government movement in the predominantly Negro colonies of the British empire. Meanwhile, the conflicts between the two have greatly lessened the pressure on the British for full self-government.

The outcome of the eighteen-months-old experiment in self-government in Jamaica will greatly influence public opinion in England, the United States, and in the West Indies as to the advisability of granting democratic self-rule to colonies largely Negro, largely illiterate, and socially and economically backward, and whose social, political and economic affairs have been controlled for generations in the interest of a small aristocracy. The question posed by the Jamaican turmoil is whether an important shift in political power is to be followed by disruption to the public and economic order, thus inflicting severe hardship on all concerned.

That Jamaica in less than a decade placed herself in the forefront of the self-government movement in the far flung British empire is a credit to the wisdom and determination of her Negro political and labor leaders. The present situation is a test of the ability of that same leadership to unify the country behind a program to solve the perplexing social and economic problems which are gradually converting Jamaica into a poor house, "a dunghill at the doorstep of the Americas."

The island is approximately 500 miles southwest of Miami, Florida or 18 air miles from Chicago. It has a population of nearly 1,500,000 people in an area of 4,450 square miles. Over 96 per cent of the people are of African descent and less than 4 per cent is represented by East Indian, Chinese, and European.

British-Combine

Jamaican cane cutters at work.

White Population Small

For generations the small white population, less than two percent of the total, has had an iron grip on the political and economic affairs of Jamaica. Practically all of the fertile land is in their hands and their vast estates, between 500 and 22,000 acres in size, are devoted to raising such export crops as sugar cane, cocoanuts, bananas, coffee, cocoa, citrus fruits, and other tropical crops for export. Today Jamaica provides barely 60 percent of the total food needs of her people.

Over 80 per cent of the Jamaican people are peasant farmers or day laborers earning on the average less than a dollar per day. The Negro farmers as a rule cultivate small eroded patches of land, one-half to two acres in size, or they work as laborers, tenants, or sharecroppers on the landed estates. There are exceptions, but generally the dominant white landholders have kept land out of the hands of Jamaican's of African descent.

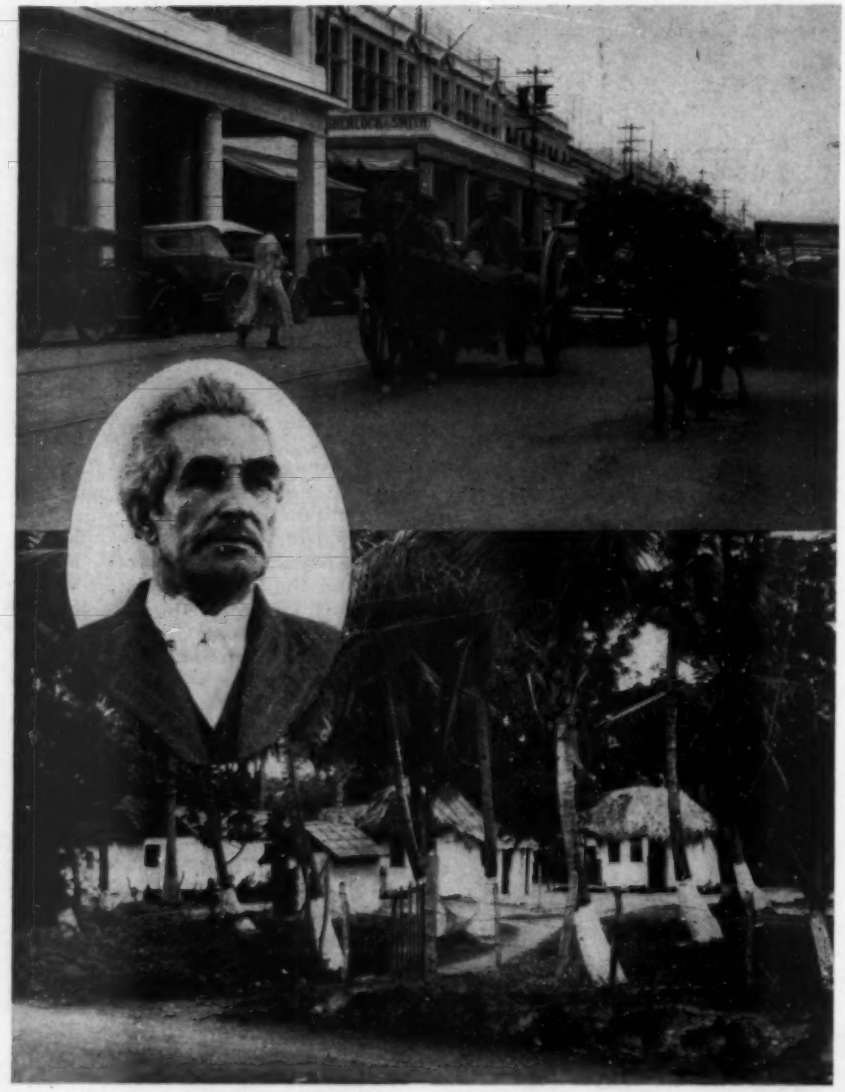
Jamaica also has a large urban or industrial population most of which is to be found in Kingston, the capital city, with a population of 110,000. The urban and industrial population of the island is employed on the shipping docks, in warehouses, in plants processing agricultural produce, and in the government services. As might have been expected it is this large urban and industrial group which provides the numerical and financial strength for the growing labor movement and the two political parties based on the trade unions.

The economic life of the island as well as its political affairs have been run in the interest of that two per cent of the population controlling the landed estates, the banks, and export trade. This was made possible not only by business connection in England, but by an electoral system, since it was based on property holdings, which disfranchised the great majority of the people.

Thus a disproportionateiy heavy share of the tax burden was shifted by import and inequitable land taxes to the shoulders of the poor. Balanced and mixed agriculture was discouraged in order to favor imports, and exports and taxes on many imported raw materials were actually higher than the products from which those products were made. Small local manufacturing industries like garment making, canning, ceramics, and others were discouraged.

For years the social, political and economic situation in Jamaica as well as in many other West Indian islands continued to deteriorate. Stiff foreign competition, falling prices, soil erosion, and crop diseases were disorganizing the island's economy. Under employment and complete unemployment became regular aspects of Jamaican life along with widespread undernourishment and poor health.

In the face of this steadily worsening



Press Association, James Sawders, British-Combine

Top, section of Harbour street, Kingston, Jamaica. Inset, Alexander Bustamente (real name Alexander Clark), leader of the Bustamente Industrial Trade Unions (BITU). "He regards himself as prime minister of Jamaica and occasionally declares 'I am the government!'" Bottom, huts in rural Jamaica.

economic situation the Jamaican population is increasing so rapidly that it is expected to double itself in 33 years despite a high infant mortality rate of 138 deaths per 1,000 live births. And there is practically no outlet for the surplus Jamaican population. With the exception of British Honduras and British Guiana, all the colonies in the Caribbean area are facing the same threat of over population.

What Jamaica, like most of the West Indian islands, needed above all was a local government, responsible to the Jamaican people and which would have had sufficient power and a program for making full use of local resources to raise the general standard of living. Such a program would have as its objective the improvement of health, educational, and social welfare standards, introduction of new industries, while diversifying and balancing the island's agriculture on behalf of a balanced diet. Obviously a very high order of statesmanship and social determination is required if self-government is to make any contribution to the solution of Jamaica's problems. But the bitter dissension between the island's leaders is not only neutralizing local leadership, but is preventing public agreement on a progressive program.

Agitation for constitutional and other reforms in Jamaica was renewed early in the depression. Virtual starvation stalked the country. In desperation the workers on docks, in processing plants and even in agriculture turned to trade unions seeking a champion for their interests. A wave of riots swept the island from 1937 to 1938. During the war Negro labor and political leaders became so outspoken that Governor Richards ordered many of them detained. Several were given jail sentences.

Royal Commission Investigates

A similar situation developed throughout the West Indies and a Royal Commission was sent to the region to investigate and to make recommendations. As a result of the general situation on the island, the recommendations and findings of the Commission, and the friendly interest of the late President Roosevelt, the British undertook far-reaching reforms on behalf of representative and more responsible government. A colonial development and welfare fund was set up to foster education, health, and social and economic development.

Over the bitter opposition of the island's traditional rulers a new constitution went into effect in 1944. For the first time in history a predominantly strength based on the aggressive, Negro British colony was granted universal adult suffrage.

The new constitution provided for an elected House of Representatives with 32 members; an appointed Legislative Council of 14 members; and an executive council on which five of the elected representatives of the people have a voice equal to that of five nominated members. The House and the Executive Council are the key sections of the legislative and administrative machinery. Though the governor has a veto, it is subject to very critical review. His reserved powers concerning military and foreign matters are not subject to Jamaica's democratic processes. In internal affairs the representatives of the people have very broad jurisdiction including taxation, the budget, and regulation of business and other economic matters. Moreover, the constitution is to be reviewed in 1949 in order to make necessary improvements. It remains to be seen whether Jamaicans will successfully justify an extension of self-rule.

The first election under the new constitution in 1944 achieved a revolution in Jamaican politics. A new hastily formed Labor Party with its scrappy Bustamente Industrial Trade Unions, entered the field and almost crushed the Peoples National Party led by Norman Washington Manley and supported by the Trade Union Coun-

cil. The Independent Party hardly won legislative recognition.

The campaign was fought with extreme bitterness and much reckless character defamation. The forces led by Norman Washington Manley, a congenial Oxford graduate, Rhodes scholar, and "one of the smartest lawyers in the West Indies"; accused Manley's cousin Bustamente of mishandling funds of the Bustamente Industrial Trade Unions.

This charge infuriated the Bustamante forces and they redoubled their efforts to defeat every member of the Peoples' National Party, even to the extent of reaching a mutual aid agreement with the business elements on the island who were afraid of the socialism of the PNP. To defeat Manley, Kings Councilor, and member of the Legislative Council, Bustamante supported a patent medicine peddler promoting a fraudulent "pandiculator" machine which was supposed to bring health by stretching the patient.

Manley was defeated, his party, the PNP, won only 4 of the 32 seats in the House of Representatives. Bustamante won 24 seats and has the votes of 3 independents, representing the big business interests on the island. This victory meant that Bustamante would not only control the House of Representatives, but also all of the elected members of the Executive Council, the key administrative body in the Government. On it sit the top administrative officers of the island including the Governor himself. Thus Mr. Alexander Bustamante, eight years after his return from a long stay in New York, after two arrests as a menace to the security of Jamaica, became Minister of Communications and the dominant political figure on the whole island. He was also chief of the strongest organized labor body, the ever growing BITU and leader of its dominant political party, the JLP.

A Fighting Leader

W. Alexander Bustamante at 59 is swarthy, lean and fiery. He has a bullying, but confidence inspiring manner, and his great energy and self-confidence cause him to leave very little to others that he can himself crowd into a 24-hour day. He fights with the nominated members of the Executive Council, with the opposition in the legislature, with employers in negotiations, and with recalcitrant workers on his numerous picket lines. He chafes under criticism and fights with a vengeance.

He seems to be almost without humility. The official name of the unions which he leads is the "Bustamante Industrial Trade Unions (BITU) of which Bustamante named himself president for life. He regards himself as Prime Minister of Jamaica and occasionally declares "I am the government!" Where men who have a normal regard for themselves mask their ideas with the ambiguous "we," Bustamante constantly uses the more emphatic and realistic "I!" In referring to the acts and policies of the BITU and the Jamaica Labor Party, Mr. Bustamante usually says "I." A favorite expression is "I will give you orders." "I will handle it." "They cannot destroy you because they cannot destroy me."

Amsterdam Studio
Norman W. Manley
Leader of the Peoples National Party.

Among Jamaican workers, particularly those along the water front, on the plantations, and in the processing plants of the island, the feeling is widespread that Bustamante their "Chief" is not only their champion but that nobody can stand up against one of his onslaughts. That Bustamante has "guts" nobody questions in Jamaica.

Frequently Bustamante is the first man to show up on his numerous picket lines. He is often accompanied by Jamaica's Minister of Social Welfare, Frank Pixley, a smart young Negro lawyer generally recognized as the "brains" behind the "Chief." In the days when the police were far more active in suppressing labor disturbances, Bustamante is reported to have bared his chest to the drawn guns of the police and demanded that they shoot him rather than harm a hair on the heads of any of his workers.

On the labor front the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union is opposed by the Trade Union Council led by N. N. Nethersole, president, and Kenneth Hill, secretary. The political arm of the TUC is the Peoples National Party of which Norman Washington Manley is chairman. The main strength of the TUC and the PNP is among skilled, clerical and professional workers employed on the government owned railroad, in civil service classifications and to some extent in private industry.

These two union groups, the BITU and the TUC, account for some 45,000 organized workers in Jamaica. This figure represents almost a mushroom growth and it remains to be seen if this growth is sufficiently solid to enable the labor movement to maintain a vigorous life when reaction sets in after the first waves of enthusiasm. At present there are 28 unions in Jamaica, all organized since 1939. Seventeen of these are active in public utilities, shipping, building and construction, and in the government service.

The Trade Union Council is affiliated with and is one of the main promoters of the West Indian Labor Congress. It is also affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions. The BITU has not regarded these two organizations as being of sufficient importance to merit its serious consideration. Moreover, the PNP and the TUC are strongly in favor of the immediate federation of all the British West Indian islands. It wants self-government for Jamaica if the West India federation with dominion status is in the immediate future. As Bustamante sees it, full self-government can wait indefinitely, what the people want is "bread in their guts." However, the Labor Party is in favor of federation of the British West Indies.

The rivalry between the Labor Party and the Peoples National Party engendered so much bitterness during the election campaign, that it was impossible to heal the breach between the two organizations after Bustamante took office. A few of the leaders of the Peoples National Party made the mistake of ridiculing the low educational achievements of the Labor Party representatives in the legislature.

Cause of Present Strife

Much of the strife in Jamaica today is due directly to the decision of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union and the Labor Party to drive the Trade Union Council and the People's National Party off the islsand. Bustamante obviously does not appreciate the value of opposition. He is undoubtedly using his position as a government official, as leader of the dominant political party in the island to achieve this purpose. PNP men have been driven out of mu-

(Continued on page 27)

By the River Avon

By Eric Wa' ond

The white lieutenant saluted his Negro GI—a simple gesture that exposed the hollowness of English equalitarianism. To the Big Man this was a spectacle

"WHAT kind of nail polish do you use?"

"Vermilion."

"Not so good. You ought to try silver. It goes rather well with fair hair."

"Whoever did that ought to have a ring through her nose."

"Here, let me put this on."

"What is it?"

"Oh, just a little something for your wrist."

"Why, Pingo, it's white gold!"

"Oh, no. It's nickel."

"Whatever do I want with a nickel chain?"

"Just in case you get lost or something. It's like a soldier's identification disc or a dog's tag—"

I wasn't eavesdropping. I was merely standing, not far from a Negro soldier and a white girl, at the tail-end of a bus queue in front of the public gardens in Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire County, England.

A bus with standing room only came along and the queue moved forward. Nobody got off, one or two people got on and the bus drove off again.

When I looked around the girl had disappeared, but the GI had climbed on the garden wall and with legs dangling now sat under the dark, mauve-mellow cloud of a copper beech tree. Ranged about his legs were a couple of his Negro service buddies.

The movement of the GI's lips was rapid, unceasing. All of a sudden he threw his hands above his head and with the fingers outspread kept them up there quivering. Then, with as much ease as though he was sitting on a velvet cushion, the GI, who tended to be corpulent, even a little adipose, quickly shifted his body from side to side.

"Look at them!" cried a white man passing by, "just like a lot of monkeys!"

Immediately ahead of me in the bus queue stood a tall, heavily built man whose black curly hair under the brim of a trilby hat was fringed with silver. A dirty mackintosh hung loosely from his round sloping shoulders.

The big man was eyeing the two men in front of him with pity. "What I done in the Boer War?" he asked, speaking with a lisp, "Well, I will tell you. I helped Sergeant Wilson in the Market Place to enlist men in the Wilts Imperial Yeomanry. I wasn't big enough to be a trumpeter."

"What was it we were fighting for then?"

"I always understood meself—"

"Freedom and democracy?"

"—that it was a war for gold."

Under the two-pronged assault the big man faltered. His eyes widened out of focus. His astonishment was measureless.

He was no longer a solicitor's clerk in Bristol, the intimate of men whose daily concern was to interpret and administer the law. He was back in the county in which his parents, both devout church-goers, had first met, fallen in love and been united in wedlock; the county where he, his unmarried sister and his brother, who now kept a tavern in Derbyshire, were born and had grown up. Yes, on the eve of the pitiless hammering from the air which it was destined to receive the big man had kissed the old Negro slave mart goodbye. Now he was grubbing along in a ten-bob-a-week cottage in Avon Without, on the boundlessly sprawling hem of a hill-sited industrial town. His sister, a seamstress, shared the cottage with him, quietly sewing for the gentry. In his allotment, vital to the job of making ends meet, the couch grass, the flowering thistles, the dandelions and the clover vines had got a stranglehold. High blood pressure had compelled him to give up gardening. The sands were running out, but there was one consolation: he had managed, despite everything, to hang on to a white-collar job in a factory, a low-grade, poorly paid one but a white-collar one nevertheless.

Among some of the local folk the habit of prefixing "darkie" to the big man's name was current; but only behind his back, never to his face. Had he been tied, like most English "half-castes," to the squalid de-colonialized corner of a seaport town instead of to the rural heart of Old England the position would doubtless have been different; but for all useful purposes there had been nothing to prevent him from "passing," even though he was not so light-skinned a mulatto that he could have been mistaken for anything but a colored man. One of the reasons for the tolerance shown towards him arose from the esteem in which his mother, a God-fearing woman of unmixed African ancestry from Antigua in the West Indies, was still held by all who had known her and even by many who had only heard tell of her a quarter of a century after she had passed on. ("If anybody couldn't get along with she there must have been something wrong with they.") Toward his father, a Wiltshire merchant, the unspoken view was one of charity. In the Victorian era Britain's Negro empire was expanding. The adoption by a missionary society of a young attractive Negro girl with the aim of giving her the blessings of an English education and a Christian upbringing in the Mother Country had been nothing unusual. If the girl ended up by marrying a white man that showed that she was no longer a heathen.

The big man gazed at his companions as if he was seeing them for the first time. One, a storekeeper in the enginering works where he was employed, was slender and of medium height with a gay twinkle in his deep blue eyes. The other, short and stocky, old and feeble of step, a lifelong trade unionist, had spent forty years under the roof of a galvanized shed in close intimacy with hot metal and black sand.

The sound of the Avon River flowing over a weir, cascading out in foam, harmonized with the big man's lisp. "I was in Bert Wilson's," he went on, "the night news came through that Mafeking was relieved. A crowd quickly assembled in the market place with tin whistles and candles and a torch light procession started. There were a few Boers in the town and the crowd went after them. Then the

crowd came back and went into Bert's to have a tot of whiskey with him. Old Bert soon had his hands full. Everybody wanted to join up."

He paused, aglow with a feeling of pride and patriotism. Nobody could say with justice that he was a yellow belly. "That's what I done in the Boer War," he said, "I helped Sergeant Wilson in the market place to enlist men in the Wilts Imperial Yeomanry. I wasn't big enough to be a trumpeter, mind!"

The storekeeper's eyes twinkled gaily. "I was in Singapore after the last war," he muttered, "and the Sultan of one of the islands in the Straits Settlements offered to give each white man in the British garrison an extra sixpense a day if they would salute his officers. There were then about 2,000 white troops in the garrison."

"No need to ask," observed the iron moulder drily, "what action was taken on the offer."

"That Sultan was prepared to spend up to twenty thousand pounds a year just for a salute, and I don't mind telling you there wasn't a man in the garrison who wouldn't have been glad for an extra sixpence a day. But our folks weren't having it, see. Oh, no. 'Twould have been too much for the prestige of the white man out East."

The curl of the storekeeper's lip, the bitter sarcasm in his voice and the quick up and down movement of his eyes all gave the big man a queer uncomfortable feeling. The big man moved to the edge of the pavement and craned his neck.

"This bus," he lisped, "is a deuce of a time coming."

A vehicle was coming down the road but it wasn't a bus. It was a jeep. Passing the public gardens in a cloud of dust the Negro GI at the wheel instead of proceeding on up into the town made a sharp turn at the entrance to the bridge. The river bank, a public swimming pool and a curving line of two-storey frame buildings wedged the car park in. The GI switched off the motor and the lieutenant beside him leapt out. The GI also got out, disappearing in the two-way flood of wheeled and foot traffic moving over the bridge.

The lieutenant mounted the pavement. He walked slowly past the doors of a blacksmith shop, a bakery. The queue on the pavement was two and three deep, long and winding. Passing behind it the lieutenant emerged at the bus stop outside a cafe directly across the road from where I was standing. He glanced up at the trinity of gables on the side of the roof of the 16th century stone structure. Quaint. The cafe, lying on below-ground level, was dark, fly-blown. Its oak-beamed ceiling was low. There were no curtains on the windows. One was ajar. Through it the lieutenant, pacing to and fro, perceived Negro enlisted men from his unit (a service one, encamped on a hilltop outside the town, in which all the officers were white) being served with tea and crumpets in a roomful of white folk . . . women and children evacuated from London, a couple of British tommies on leave, a British colonel of engineers sitting imperturbably with an elegant, grey-haired lady.

"Oh, hello."

The lieutenant was small, about 22 years of age and hailed from Georgia. A graduate of a military academy, he was the senior subaltern at the camp.

A question mark, like a column of black smoke, had begun to billow up over the camp. Was GI morale all that it might be? The people in Bradford had begun to wonder. There wasn't much that they could do about it, but, even so, some of them if only from a feeling of national self-interest had decided to have a try. Every Saturday night a GI dance, organized on behalf of a local war charity, was held in the Town Hall. One Sunday morning a Negro soldier deputized for the Vicar, an Oxford M.A., in the pulpit of Holy Trinity Church. The wife of a political officer in the Sudan, a committee of ladies, a British naval officer and a popular young clergyman were the organizers of one GI party that I attended. The fraternization and schemes of "morale-building," not all of which were carried on on a basis of pink knees and jive, were designed to accomplish one thing: to impress upon the Negro troops that all white folk did not believe in segregation, social inequality and the color bar; but in the process what looked dangerously like a new kind of egalitarianism was evolving and the white officers at the camp were not happy about it. Recoiling from the implied "affront" to the officers, the lieutenant was now going all out to dispel the shadow of a color line. He seemed anxious to demonstrate that as far as he was concerned a Negro was no different from a white man. He was charming in the process but he was trying too hard.

The driver of the lieutenant's jeep re-appeared on the horizon. He was walking on the chalk line that extended across the mouth of the car park. Ignoring the jeep, he kept on walking. When he skirted an overflow from the bus queue on the pavement I was certain that he was heading for the cafe, but I was mistaken.

Changing course suddenly the GI turned and, darting across the road at a jog trot, presented himself to the lieutenant.

From the viewpoint of size there wasn't much to choose between the lieutenant and the GI, but the GI was smaller and ebony-hued. He was trembling and seemed all worked up about something and looked as if he was itching to stamp his foot. The expression in his eyes was tearful.

"Lieutenant Perry!" he said with great vigor and in a tone of deep injury, "How come I passed you and you didn't salute me?"

The lieutenant touched his cap perfunctorily. "I'm sorry, Roger," he murmured, "but I didn't see you going by."

The GI scanned the lieutenant's face intently. A pacific mood flowed over him. "Okay!" he said merely; but it was as though he had granted forgiveness coupled with a warning against a repetition of what he clearly deemed to have been a gross breach of Service etiquette. Then he turned and sauntered off, chuckling happily.

The lieutenant was in a daze. Then suddenly he came to. "Hey, you!" he shouted after the GI.

The men in the bus queue, the cluster of GIs under the copper beech tree, the long bulging line of people across the road saw the GI jump as if he had been shot. He turned and stood in the middle of the road facing the lieutenant. Had he overplayed his hand? Uncertainty was mirrored in his big, round, widening eyes.

The lieutenant took his time about it. Sloping his cap forward at an angle so that the pointed top stood over one eye, he fixed the GI in a steely gaze. His lips were firmly compressed. Then he brought his arm up smartly in a salute.

"Yes, sir!" cried the GI, his hand flying to his cap.

The big man, gazing with open mouth at the spectacle of the lieutenant and the GI, was on the verge of apoplexy. "Well, I never!" he murmured, a redish glow spreading over his pale yellow skin. He stared anxiously at the iron moulder and the storekeeper. Then after an unbroken silence he declared solemly:—"Now, that's something you'd never see in the British Army in a hundred years."

BATTLE CRY OF DEMOCRACY

To erase from all hearts
Hate, Malice and Greed!
To unite for justice of
Race, Color and Creed!
The Spirit of our Fathers,
Who fought and bled in this Sod
Cries for ONE AMERICA! ONE FLAG!
Our inheritance of GOD!

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

THE HONOLULU BRANCH, *chartered in 1944, is the first outside continental U. S. Pictured are members of the branch executive committee: Front row, L to R, John W. Steward, Charles T. Mackey, treasurer; standing, L to R, Fleming R. Waller, president; James Neal, Mrs. James Neal, secretary; Arthur Gilliam, Mrs. Arthur Gilliam, Alfred Stacy, William A. Casey, membership secretary; and Marcellus Guest.*

BILBO HEARINGS

NAACP BRIEF: A brief prepared by Charles La Follette and other noted lawyers was to have been presented at the Jackson, Mississippi, hearings of the Senate committee investigating the July 2 Democratic primary campaign of Senator Theodore B. Bilbo. This brief was expected to provide a practical legal basis for Bilbo's exclusion from the U. S. Senate for having urged the whites of Mississippi to take the law into their own hands, if necessary, to prevent Negroes from voting. This memorandum cited the legal precedents which would give the Senate power to unseat Bilbo by calling attention to the law involved in settling the cases of senators-elect Frank L. Smith of Illinois and William S. Vare of Pennsylvania, both of which arose out of their primary campaigns of 1926.

Smith presented himself to be sworn in on December 5, 1927, but the Senate asked him to stand aside and adopted Senate Resolution No. 1 asking that Mr. Smith's credentials be referred to a special committee for investigation. Though Mr. Smith was given permission to be heard, he did not testify. The special committee made its report, adopted as Senate Resolution 112 on January 16, 1928, which declared "that the acceptance and expenditure of the various sums of money aforesaid in behalf of the candidacy of the said Frank L. Smith is contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate, dangerous to the perpetuity of free government, and taints with fraud and corruption the credentials for a seat in the Senate presented by the said Frank L. Smith. . . . The said Frank L. Smith is not entitled to membership in the Senate of the United States, and a vacancy exists in the representation of the State of Illinois in the United States Senate."

The NAACP believes that the above resolution clearly establishes a rule of law and controlling precedent for the instant inquiry to the effect that acts

LOUISIANA-TEXAS DELEGATES *to the NAACP training conference held in Shreveport, La., November 8-9. Speakers included Leslie Perry, Thurgood Marshall, Gloster Current, all from the national office, Maceo Smith, Daniel Byrd, Mrs. Lulu White, and Dr. H. Boyd Hall, from Texas and Louisiana.*

or conduct which is ". . . contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate, dangerous to the perpetuity of free government, and taints with fraud and corruption the credentials for a seat in the Senate."

Therefore it is the position of the NAACP that the statements and utterances of Senator Bilbo during his campaign amounted to a wilful and knowing advocacy of the denial to the Negro voters of Mississippi of rights which the Supreme Court of the United States has held are guaranteed to them under the constitution. They also amount to an open incitment of the white Democratic voters of Mississippi to resort to fraud and violence to deny the Negro voters of that state the right to cast their ballots.

Though the NAACP was denied direct participation and its brief was not presented to the Ellender committee during its hearing in Jackson, December 2-6, Charles H. Houston of Washington, D. C., did act as special counsel and managed to give much behind-the-scene advice to witnesses.

Five-day conduct of the hearings at Jackson by Senator Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) suggest that his committee was more intent on whitewashing Bilbo than in uncovering the truth. Ellender, it must be remembered, shares most of Bilbo's white supremacy views. The New York evening paper, PM, listed four things as being wrong with the hearings as conducted by the Senate committee: failure to adopt the subpoena as a standard practice for calling witnesses, "failure of the committee to have read into the record the full available accounts of Bilbo's campaign speeches," and Senator Ellender's tendency to act as "if he were chief defense counsel for Bilbo."

Despite threats and failure to use the subpoena, Negroes, mostly veterans, flocked to testify at the hearings. Mr. Houston said that "too much credit could not be given for the quiet courage shown by these Negro witnesses. They refused to make wild sweeping guesses, limiting themselves to personal knowledge, even when guessing might have colored their stories." "The atmosphere of terror," he continues, "was reflected in the fact that the majority of witnesses who were attacked declined to identify their attackers. The general feeling seemed to be, 'We want our rights and future protection —not vengeance.'"

Members of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Investigating Committee returned to Washington in December and they were expected to place their recommendations either before the Senate or the Senate Elections Committee some time during the month. Senator Ellender's committee can recommend that Bilbo be refused a seat on the grounds that his 3800-vote victory in the July 2 primary was won through fraud and duress; that though election conditions in Mississippi are bad, Bilbo himself is not responsible for them; or that Bilbo should be seated.

SKYCAPS SUPPORT DRIVE — *Top, James E. Allen, center, president of the N. Y. state conference of branches, is shown receiving a check for $535 from J. Langston Williams, extreme right, chief of terminal personnel at LaGuardia Airport, Queens, N. Y. Others in the picture are Donald Jones, extreme left, field secretary, NAACP; and skycaps Lewis Bendroos and Livingstone L. Wingate. Bottom, Mrs. Iola Dedman of Des Moines, Iowa, recently awarded $650 for false arrest by Des Moines police. Men in picture not named.* *See Iowa branch item, page 22.*

NAACP COUNSEL INTIMIDATED

MARSHALL SEIZED ON FALSE CHARGE: On November 18, 1946, the police of Columbia and Maury county, Tenn., assisted by state troopers, arrested and attempted to jail NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall on a trumped up charge of "drunken driving." At the end of the two-day trial which led to the acquital of William Pillow and a five-year sentence for Lloyd Kennedy, NAACP attorneys Thurgood Marshall, Z. A. Looby, Maurice Weaver, and a New York reporter, Harry Raymond, set out for Nashville in Looby's car with Mr. Marshall at the wheel. When they were about three miles outside Columbia, their car was stopped by state patrol cars and the lawyers were ordered out. The three police cars contained two state troopers, two Columbia police, and four Maury county sheriffs and constables, eight police in all.

The police charged the lawyers with hauling liquor in violation of the Maury county local option law. Looby and Weaver, however, refused to allow a search unless the officers produced a warrant; then the police showed a John Doe warrant issued by A. M. Butts, city constable, and proceeded to a thorough

search of the car and a personal search of the men. No liquor was found. The officers then went into a hurried discussion among themselves just out of earshot of the lawyers, after this they came back to the car and told the men that they could now proceed.

Mr. Looby now took the wheel of his car and Marshall took a seat in the back and the men again started for Nashville. But a few miles farther on the lawyers were again overtaken and stopped by the same three cars of policemen. They flashed their lights in the back of the car and accused Marshall of having been driving without a permit. When he showed his license, the police let the men continue on their way.

But they had hardly started the car when the police returned, stopped them again, and told Marshall, "We've got to charge you with drunken driving." They made Marshall get out of his car and into theirs, to be taken to Columbia. Weaver and Looby waited for the police to turn, expecting them to head back in the direction of the town, but the police cars instead turned off into a dark side road. Looby and Weaver held a hasty conference and then decided to follow the police cars. When the police realized they were being trailed, they turned around and set off this time in the direction of Columbia.

The whole procession turned up at a magistrate's in Columbia, where Marshall was charged with "drunken driving." "If you believe I've been drinking," said Marshall to the magistrate, "smell my breath," and he blew his breath into the magistrate's face. He admitted that Marshall had apparently not been drinking, and refused to hold him. He even shook hands with Marshall, a very unusual gesture in those parts. This show of friendliness coupled with the acquittal puzzled and angered the police, who seemed intent on putting Marshall in jail for "safe-keeping." This is the same jail where two Negroes were shot to death by Lynn Bomar's police following their arrest after the "riots" of last February 25.

Following his release, Marshall, Looby, Weaver, and Raymond, hardly in any mood to go on to Nashville after such harrowing experiences, drove to the Negro business section where they felt they would be reasonably safe. In a brief conference with Negro citizens they worked out a strategem. Columbia Negro residents provided them with another car and, getting into Looby's car themselves, all drove out to the main Nashville road. This ruse threw the police cars off the lawyers' trail and in their borrowed car the men reached Nashville safely.

ANNUAL MEETING *of the Topeka, Kansas, branch. Front row, L to R, Mrs. P. A. Towsend, P. A. Towsend, Jr., Boliver E. Watkins, president; Thomas B. Simpson, auditor; Rev. E. Bernard Hurd, and Mrs. Lena Hogan.*

As soon as Marshall arrived in Nashville he sent a telegram to Attorney General Tom Clark demanding an investigation of the incident and asking that criminal charges be pressed against the officers who had committed the outrage. However, to date Attorney General Tom Clark has not replied, and it was not until early in December that Assistant Attorney General Theron Lamar Caudle acknowledged receipt of Mr. Marshall's protest.

The Tennessee authorities at Columbia were obviously intent upon "getting" Mr. Marshall. For during the trial the only personal references made to any of the defense lawyers by the prosecutor were to Marshall—"that tall yellow fellow who claims he's from Baltimore." And when the police stopped the lawyers' car on the highway, they made frequent sarcastic references about "tall yellow boy" when addressing their questions to Marshall.

YOUTH CONFERENCE

WELL KNOWN SPEAKERS ADDRESS MEETING: Delegates from twenty-two states and the District of Columbia were in attendance at the eighth annual youth conference of the NAACP held in New Orleans, La., November 21-24, 1946. Among greetings to the conference were those sent by President Truman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Arthur Spingarn, Walter White, and James B. Carey.

The keynote address was delivered by Judge Hubert T. Delany, judge of the Domestic Relations Court, New York City, who advised the assembled delegates and visitors to vote and fight for good housing, jobs, wages, and against oppression and mob violence. Speakers at the Friday morning session were Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, NAACP, who spoke on a bill of rights for youth; Madison S. Jones, administrative assistant, national office, who spoke on fair employment practices; A. Maceo Smith, executive secretary Texas state conference NAACP branches, and Daniel E. Byrd, executive secretary New Orleans branch, who discussed taxation without representation. On Friday evening the session was addressed by Isaac Heller, New Orleans attorney, who spoke on one world or none.

On Saturday morning there was a showing of the film, *The Color of a Man*, followed by a discussion of "Planning a Course of Action," led by Dr. George Snowden, associate professor of economics at Dillard. Among the reports from youth council delegates were those from Lumberton, N. C., Cincinnati, Ohio, Detroit, Mich., and Chicago, Ill. The Chicago group is working on a project to lower the voting age in Illinois.

Among the resolutions adopted at the business session were the following: Passage of a federal civil rights bill to implement the protections guaranteed by the 14th and 15th amendments, abolition of the poll tax, punishment of lynchers, establishment of a fair employment practice act; amendment of the Patman emergency housing law and passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft long-range housing bill; and enactment of minimum wage amendments to the present labor laws.

Extension of the GI bill of rights to cover members of the merchant marine, enactment of legislation to provide easier terms for veterans' loans and allotments for education, as well as liberalization of benefits for disabled veterans and their dependents, and the withholding of all funds under the GI bill of rights from any institution that practices discrimination in the admission of students or in the appointment of teaching personnel.

Complete abolition of segregation in the American system of education; en-

dorsement of passage of the Wagner-Taft-Ellender bill; complete abolition of all discriminatory practices in the American armed forces; election and support of candidates on the basis of issues, not race; and abolition of segregation on all common carriers.

Music for the conference was presented by the Xavier choir and the Dillard verse choir.

Speakers at the Sunday mass meeting were Isaac Woodard, Oliver Harrington, director of publicity, NAACP, and Thurgood Mashall.

The next conference will be held at Houston, Texas, on November 5-9, 1947.

NEW YORK MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

BRANCH DRIVE SUCCESSFUL: The four-weeks membership drive of the New York City branch, which ended December 1, netted more than two thousand new members, bringing the total branch membership up to more than five thousand. The Skycaps at LaGuardia airport joined en masse, with a one hundred percent enrollment. One hundred and three took out memberships of five dollars each. Strong support in the drive also came from the student council of City College, where the students set up a booth and solicited memberships. *The Ticker*, the college paper, carrier a front-page story of the drive.

MISCELLANEOUS

PICKET AUDITORIUM: When Billy Rose's *Carmen Jones* was presented in Louisville, Ky., in November, members of the local branch threw a picket line around the Municipal Auditorium in protest against the policy of segregation. According to Alfred M. Carroll, branch president, the general policy governing the auditorium had been to segregate at all attractions, but former mayor Wilson Wyatt had put into effect a new policy of no segregation when Negro attractions appeared.

DISNEY'S "UNCLE REMUS" DANGEROUS: In commenting upon Disney's "Song of the South," Walter White says: "The NAACP recognizes in 'Song of the South' remarkable artistic merit in the music and in the combination of living actors and the cartoon technique. It regrets, however, that in an effort not to offend the South, the production helps to perpetuate a dangerously glorified picture of slavery. Making use of the beautiful Uncle Remus folklore, 'Song of the South' unfortunately gives the impression of an idyllic masterslave relationship which is a distortion of the fact."

NEW LIFE MEMBER: After five years Dr. T. Henderson Kerr's patient planning for an NAACP life membership was rewarded on November 19, 1946. Dr. Kerr's name will go on the bronze plaque of life members in the national office. Dr. Kerr lives in Baltimore, Md.

ZETA TO RAISE $5,000 FOR NAACP: Under the slogan "Zeta stands for justice for all people," the Zeta Phi Beta sorority conducted a December campaign for funds for the NAACP among all its graduate chapters asking each one to give at least $100 to its local branch or the national office.

IOWANS GIVE $1,000 AT WOODARD RALLY: Ike Smalls, president of the Iowa state conference of branches, which held a rally for Woodard when he was in Des Moines on November 17, sent in $700 from the rally to the national office and an additional $300 from the Des Moines branch, making a total contribution of $1,000.

RESTRICTIVE COVENANT: On October 11 Queens county New York was the scene of the latest battle in the NAACP's nationwide campaign against restrictive covenants. Andrew D. Weinberger, a member of the NAACP, moved that the supreme court of Queens county dismiss the complaint seeking to prevent Samuel Richardson, a Negro business man, from purchasing a home in St. Albans, on the ground that the race restrictive covenant upon which the white neighbors relied was not enforceable in a court of law.

Civic, religious, and labor organizations rallied to the support of this attack on jim-crow housing by filing briefs and arguing at the hearing in support of the motion to dismiss. Attorneys for the American Jewish Congress, the New York State Industrial Union Council, the Greater New York Industrial Council, and the National Lawyers Guild all appeared in court in support of the NAACP position. The Social Action Committee of the Congre-

CAMPAIGN WORKERS *during the Chicago, Ill., 1946 branch membership campaign.*

gational church, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and the City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem all filed memoranda in court supporting the position taken by the Association.

New York state has never had a case involving restrictive covenants decided by an appellate court, although there have been two decisions in the lower courts upholding such covenants.

What the Branches Are Doing

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: The executive committee of the WASHINGTON branch has unanimously endorsed a recomemndation of the executive secretary that a corps of student investigators be assembled from the Howard and Terrell law schools, because the heavy increase in the number of cases now being handled by the branch will furnish these students with excellent experience.

Major Callahan has instituted a series of lecture courses on race relations, taught by retired police chief Joseph T. Kluchesky of Milwaukee. The first lecture in the series began on November 13. The branch voted to support the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Washington in its fight against the proposed separate housing of Negro physicians at Gallinger hospital.

The election of an executive secretary for the branch for the first time in more than twenty years is another milestone on the branch's road to progress. The Washington branch is by far the largest organization of its type in the District of Columbia having in 1946 a membership of more than 10,000 members. It is a people's organization and welcomes to membership all persons who believe in a sustained fight for full citizenship rights for colored people.

GEORGIA: Fifth annual session of the Georgia NAACP conference of branches was held at COLUMBUS on November 8-9. Experts opened discussions on aspects of the political situation in Georgia, veterans' affairs, and expansion of NAACP work throughout the state.

HAWAII: First branch of the NAACP organized outside the continental United States was organized in HONOLULU in 1944. Present membership of the branch is about 600 persons, about forty of whom are persons of Hawaiian and Oriental extraction. More than $600 has been remitted to the national office, and the branch itself was recently the recipient of a $1000 gift from Joe Louis on the occasion of his fight in Honolulu last November.

IOWA: On October 11 Mrs. Iola Dedman was awarded a $650 judgment for false arrest by Judge O. S. Franklin. Mrs. Dedman filed the false-arrest suit against officers Ralph E. McKinley and Allen S. Simmon, members of the Des Moines police department, on March 1, 1946. Mrs. Dedman claimed that she and Marine first sergeant David Davies were stopped by the officers on February 10, 1946, while walking downtown near the city library.

After questioning her about her race, she stated that the police officers took her to the station house for further questioning. At the police station Sergeant Joelson and Inspector Ecklund questioned her about her race and color and the race and color of her parents. Mrs. Dedman accused the officers of arresting her merely because they thought her a white woman in the company of a Negro. It is reported to be a practice of the Des Moines police department to arrest white women when seen with Negro men. Upon cross-examination at the trial the police officers, however, denied that they had arrested Mrs. Dedman because they thought she was white. In fact, they denied having arrested her at all.

Branch representatives were in attendance at every session of the trial. It is reported that this is the first time in the history of the state of Iowa that the police have been successfully sued for an arrest based upon color.

ILLINOIS: The TRI-CITY branch installed officers on November 25. Leon Harris was elected to head the branch for his seventh consecutive term. Other officers named were Charles E. Golden, vice-president; George D. Newborn, second vice-president; William Bishop, third vice-president; Mabel V. Smith, secretary; Gertrude B. Harris, assistant secretary; and Elizabeth Golden, treasurer.

MARYLAND: The BALTIMORE branch followed through with its registration and vote campaign and the election results show that local Negro citizens voted for "men and measures," transcending party lines to vote for their friends.

MICHIGAN: In DETROIT the Real Estate Brokers Association is giving full support in its drive against restrictive covenants, and had contributed as of November 11 more than $1,625 toward the fight.

The branch F-fund drive symbolizing the NAACP's fight for "freedom—to destroy fear—to develop faith" at home has rapidly caught the fancy of Detroiters. The need for the continuation of the branch's work on restrictive covenants, housing, and other fronts is demonstrated by the response to appeals

GARDEN PARTY *given by the Honolulu, Hawaii, branch previous to Todd Duncan's September recital in Honolulu. More than two hundred people of various races and nationalities attended. L to R, Fleming R. Waller, Mrs. George Oakley, Arthur Gilliam, Mrs. Lucille Neal, Todd Duncan, Mrs. Arthur Gilliam, and George Oakley.*

made to date. Certificates of award have been made to many groups, including unions, and business and professional people, and the branch is asking that those who have not received theirs please notify the office at once.

Discrimination at Greenfields restaurant was exposed again in Judge John J. Maher' courtroom in November in a case brought by John Cotton and Norman Townsend, students at the Detroit Institute of Technology, in which they alleged that they had been refused services on July 5, 1946.

Mr. Hicks, the manager at Greenfields, was found not guilty by an all-white jury after a colored woman juror was dismissed. Defense counsel claimed that the plaintiff had been sent in by the branch to create a disturbance.

In commenting on the branch action in this matter, Edward M. Swan stated that the Diggs civil rights act is still law in the state of Michigan and that when violations of this act or any other act is reported to the office, the branch has an obligation to advise and assist its members in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

A hearing in the extradition case of Wheelwright Payne, wanted by the state of Alabama, was held in the office of Governor Harry F. Kelly on November 22. Mr. Payne, a parolee in Alabama, understood that he had been given permission to come to Detroit for ten days to look for work. He came to Detroit and after finding a job reported this to the Michigan authorities telling them that he was returning to Alabama before his ten days were up. The Michigan authorities, however, advised him that it would not be necessary for him to return to that state since they would have his case transferred from Alabama to Michigan. While the necessary papers were being prepared, and before they could reach the Alabama authorities, a fugitive warrant had been issued asking for Payne's return.

All attempts to have the warrant withdrawn by Alabama failed, and the only recourse is now to request Governor Kelly to deny the extradition.

MINNESOTA: Recent speakers before the ST. PAUL branch have been Isaac Woodard, police-blinded war veteran, and the Rev. Kyle Haselden, youthful pastor of the Trinity Baptist church of Minneapolis. The speeches were followed by collection of monies for the Isaac Woodard trust fund. Five hundred and fifty-three dollars was collected and mailed to the national office.

NEW YORK: Quarterly conference of the New York state conference of NAACP branches was held November 30-December 1, 1946, at the Dunbar community center in Syracuse. Among the speakers who led discussions centered around the conference theme of "Doing what comes naturally" were Clarence Johnson, National Housing Authority; Gloster Current, director of branches, NAACP; Mrs. Hortense Gibbs, president Ithaca branch; Mrs. Effie A. Gordon, regional vice-president; Dr. Leon Scott, chairman of committee on education; and Mrs. Rhea M. Eckel, executive secretary, New York State Citizens Council. James Egert Allen. New York City, is conference president; Leon W. Scott, New Rochelle, vice-president; Lionel C. Barrow, New York City, secretary; Mrs. George W. Bowks, Albany, assistant secretary; and Miss Amanda Kemp, New York City, treasurer.

The climax of the recent membership drive of the NEW YORK CITY branch for ten thousand new members came on Sunday, December 1 with the appearance of Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of Nehru and head of the Indian delegation to UN, at a mass meeting held in the Golden Gate Ballroom, 142nd street and Lenox avenue. Subject of her discussion was "Where do minorities go from here?" Walter White, executive secretary, also spoke on the same program.

NEW JERSEY: In October the following committees of the CAMDEN branch reported: general welfare, Mrs. Ruth Richardson, chairman; youth work, Robert Hazelwood, chairman (there are now four councils in Camden, Haddonfield, Lawnside, and Woodbury); membership, Dr. J. Maurice Vaughn; press and publicity, Juanita E. Dicks, chairman; education, Lillian Goings, chairman; nominating, Robert B. Johnson, chairman; and legal redress and legislation, Robert B. Johnson, chairman.

Mr. Johnson of the latter committee thinks the time has now come for the branch executive board to advise the board of education of Camden City that Negro citizens are oposed to segregated schools. There are two cases pending on the Magnus Tinsley and the Berlin school situation.

OHIO: In November the nominating committee to elect officers and executive board members of the CLEVELAND branch met at the Lane Metropolitan CME church at 46th street and Cedar avenue. Three hundred people participated with Dr. Harold F. Carr, pastor of Lakewood Methodist, as the principal speaker. Charles P. Lucas, executive secretary of the branch, gave a brief summary of the Euclid Beach case now pending before the legislative committee of the city council. He outlined some of the historical precedents for the discrimination practiced at Euclid Beach, and gave instances of the humiliating discriminatory experiences suffered there by Negro school children.

PENNSYLVANIA: On December 8 the PHILADELPHIA branch sponsored a huge mass meeting in its fight against lynching and mob violence throughout the United States, with Isaac Woodard, police-blinded World War II veteran, as principal speaker.

"Thank you very much for what you have done for me," said Mrs. Reba Jefferson, 1423 S. 19th St., to members of the branch housing committee, responsible for changes in certain deplorable

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PIONEER COAL MINERS—*These veterans in coal mining worked a total of 253 years and seven months in and around mines without a lost-time injury. L to R are Sam Carter, who worked 65 years and 4 months without an accident; L. H. Carter, 60 years, 3 months; William Norris, 63 years; and A. C. Nelson, 65 years.*

McHibben Photo

NAACP MEETINGS – *Top, Ohio state conference of branches which met at Warren, Ohio, October 25-27. The sessions were presided over by J. Maynard Dickerson, state president. Bottom, pulpit scene at Kansas City, Mo., when Isaac Woodard was featured at a meeting. Carl R. Johnson, branch president, sits at Woodard's right and LeRoy Carter, NAACP assistant field secretary, sits at the left.*

housing conditions. The housing counseling service, the brain-child of Mrs. Mayme Jason, a recent candidate for the Pennsylvania state legislature, meets every Friday afternoon at three o'clock to offer its services to interested citizens.

The replies of six of the seven local medical schools queried by the branch regarding their policies with respect to the admission of qualified Negro applicants indicate that these schools accept all qualified candidates without regard to race, creed, or color.

Scores of local branch members and officers marched in one of the most remarkable demonstration parades ever held in Philadelphia as a protest against the treatment of the Jews by the British. Over 25,000 persons of all races and religions participated in this parade held on November 3.

Attorney Eugene Clark, chairman of the branch legal committee, announced in November that the sixteen-months fight for the integration of elementary schools, in Paoli, Pa., has been brought to a successful conclusion. Prior to this victory, all Negro children up to and including the sixth grade were taught in the same room, at the same time, by one teacher despite the fact that this room was located in the same building as that attended by the white pupils.

All children are now assigned to classrooms indiscriminately, according to grades.

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EAGLE SCOUT *Norman Grant, 17, of Detroit, Mich., poses with the 107 merit badges he won from the Boy Scouts. There are only four other badges which Norman could win, and he expects to earn them this year.*

TRAINING CONFERENCES: The recent Texas-Louisiana Training Conferences, held at Shreveport, La., November 8-9, was one of four conferences held by the NAACP under the direction of the department of branches in the South in November. The other conferences were held at Richmond, Va., November 9-10; Chickasha, Oklahoma, November 8-9; Longview, Texas, November 7.

The principal speaker at the Virginia conference was Rev. Archibald Carey of Chicago. Dr. Tinsley was re-elected president. Clarence Mitchell, [illegible] secretary, NAACP, was the principal speaker at the Oklahoma state conference, which re-elected state president Roscoe Dunjee. Gloster B. Current, director of NAACP branches, was principal speaker at the Texas state conference. President J. J. Jones and Maceo Smith were re-elected president and secretary, respectively.

The participants in the two-day session of the Louisiana-Texas Training Conference included Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, NAACP; Leslie Perry, administrative assistant, Washington bureau; and Mrs. Lulu B. White, executive secretary of the Houston branch.

The Shreveport training conference outlined a more militant program for the South. One of the largest crowds ever to attend an NAACP mass meeting jammed the city to hear Leslie Perry outline the NAACP legislative program to combat lynching, unseat Bilbo, as well as other programs of interest to the South. One of the main features of the training conference was the discussion of the NAACP plan to regionalize the South by establishing regional offices in strategic southern cities. The plan, as outlined by the director of branches, Mr. Current, calls for a combining of the branches in the states of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arkansas and Louisiana into regional conferences with headquarters at Dallas, Texas. The proposal was accepted in principle, with a few changes, and will be placed in effect some time in 1947.

Resolutions passed at the Texas Conference centered around political action, anti-lynching legislation and education. The Texas conference called on all NAACP branches in the South to join with labor, farmers, veterans and civic groups to support independent progressive, political action by the NAACP and its branches. The conference called for the apprehension and punishment of every lyncher, passage of a federal anti-lynch bill, keeping the KKK out of the state senate, unseating of Bilbo, and rallying of the Negroes in Texas to a common political action program by urging the convening of a united citizens' convention to be held immediately. The conference called upon its member branches to take an active part in legislative activities along the following lines:

(1) A legislative representative of the state NAACP shall be chosen who will remain in constant attendance during the sessions of state legislature at Austin. The functions of this representative shall be (A) To express to the legislature the position of the NAACP upon proposed legislation of concern to the Negro citizens and the people generally. (B) To prepare bulletins for the information and guidance of local branches on state and federal legislation together with proposals for action. This legislative representative shall function under the direction and supervision of the state executive committee.

(2) All branches of the NAACP shall conduct a most energetic campaign to see that poll taxes are paid as now required, and that everyone eligible to vote does go to the poll to vote.

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ETHIOPIAN MINISTER *to England and chairman of the Ethiopian delegation to UN general assembly, Blatta Ephrem Medhen, shown in the delegates' lounge at UN headquarters.*

MOLINE, ILL.: Honors have recently come to two members of the Tri-City

British-Combine

NORTHERN NIGERIAN *dignitaries who were witnesses to the King's opening of Parliament.*

council. Willie McAdams, star athlete and a member of the 12-A civic class of the Moline high school, was mayor of Moline for a day, when his class took over the city government. David McAdams, Willie's brother, and a star athlete and singer, was elected president of the junior class of the Moline high school. This is the first time a Negro has ever headed a class at the school.

VIRGINIA: New officers of the RICHMOND branch are as follows: Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president; Dr. W. L. Ransome, vice-president; J. H. Logan, secretary; Amos C. Clark, assistant secretary; and C. F. Foster, treasurer.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: The District branch is now in process of reorganizing its youth council under the direction of its executive secretary, with the help of Walter Sutler and Orzell Billingsley.

Book Reviews

FERMENT IN THE COLONIES

My Africa. **By Mbonu Ojike. New York: The John Day Co., 1946. Introduction by Pearl S. Buck. Illustrated. XIII+350 pp. $3.75.**

Kenya: The Land of Conflict. **By Jomo Kenyatta. London: Socialist Book Centre Ltd., n. d. 23 pp. 1/6 (25¢).**

The Voice of Coloured Labour: **Speeches and Reports of Colonial Delegates to the World Trade Union Conference—1945. Edited by George Padmore. London: Socialist Book Centre Ltd., n. d. 55 pp. 2/6 (50¢).**

African Empires and Civilization. **By Raymond Michèlet. London: Socialist Book Centre Ltd., 1945. 39 pp. 2/6 (50¢).**

The White Man's Duty. **By Nancy Cunard and George Padmore. London: Socialist Book Centre Ltd., 1945. 2nd. ed. 51 pp. 2/6 (50¢).**

Le Problème des Francais D'Outre-Mer et le Front Intercolonial. **Par Sylvère R. Alcandre. Paris: Bulletin "Europe-Colonies," n. d. 34 pp. 30 frs. (25¢).**

The euphemistic camouflages of trusteeship and the moral cover of colonial uplift can no longer obscure the fundamental reality that imperialism is a predatory enterprise operated for the benefit of European and American investment capital. Long moribund the system now finds it impossible to recover from the major shock of two world wars in one generation; and white pretenions to superiority, the myth which oiled the machinery, have been thoroughly discredited. Hardly anywhere in the world today is a white wight viewed with awe as a pucka-pucka sahib born to prerogatives and regnancy. Not one of the authors under review is awed either by the European or his "civilization." And all the authors, with two exceptions, are colonials and Michelet and Cunard, the white exceptions, are in complete agreement with colonial aspirations for independence.

Mbonu Ojike, author of *My Africa,* is an Ibo from Nigeria and his book is refreshing in its avoidance of the usual homilies and apologetics of missionaries and Europeans about "uncivilized and backward" Africans. Mr. Ojike's approach is that of an intelligent man from one culture speaking in understandable terms to the open-minded man in another. This adds immeasurably to the interest and readability of his book despite the frequently awkward and unidiomatic English to be expected from a writer not born to the language.

There are three divisions in the book: personal story, life in Africa, and practicing brotherhood, followed by an appendix of who's who among Africans, important dates in African history, and a list of leading African newspapers.

Mr. Ojike is one of fifty children, nineteen sons and thirty-one daughters, born to a prominent *amana* or local chieftain of the Ibo state in Nigeria. His father had ten wives, symbols of his prestige and wealth, and Mbonu was the fourth son of the second. Graduated from mission school, Mbonu elected to seek an education rather than a wife. He became a high-school teacher in Nigeria, took correspondence courses from Oxford university, and came to America for further education in 1939. He now holds a bachelor of science degree from Ohio State university and a master of arts degree from the University of Chicago.

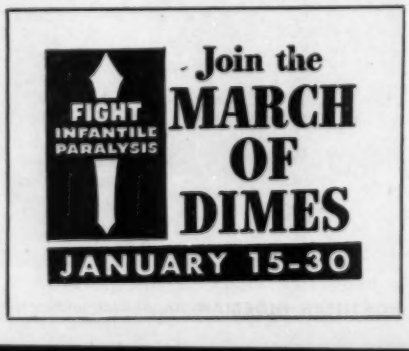
Our author wants to see his country freed of British tutelage and exploitation and rightly points out that Nigeria's domestic problems will have to be solved by the Nigerians themselves, since no nation builds up another. Neither Mr. Ojike nor his compatriots are taken in by so-called English benevolence and altruism.

Kenya: The Land of Conflict is one of the ISAB (International African Service Bureau) pamphlets published under the general editorship of George Padmore, the well-known colonial expert. Aim of the ISAB is to help enlighten "British public opinion about conditions in the colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in Africa, the West Indies and other parts of the Empire."

Kenya, in East Africa, has been occupied by the British as a colony and protectorate since 1895. Present population of the colony is estimated at 3,077,000, of which 19,000 are white, mostly British; 45,000 Indians and Goanese (from Goa in India), 13,000 Arabs, and 3,000,000 Africans. About three-fifths of the total area of the colony, however, is poorly watered and unfertile; and the highlands, by far the best part of the land, are reserved for Europeans only. Neither Africans nor Indians can own land there.

Through crookedness, brutality, and fraud the natives of Kenya have been reduced almost to the status of serfs. But though helots they do enjoy such civilized benefits as race discrimination, the "kipandi" (a registration certificate required of all male Africans over 16), and anyone found at large without "kipandi" is liable to arrest and imprisonment; low wages, hut taxes, these force the Africans to work for the whites, since it is the only way they can obtain tax monies; destruction of their herds; and famine. But these Africans are not taking this victimization lying down. They have fought back through the general strike of 1922, their constant agitation for political representation and more education, and the united front of the Kikuyu Central Association.

In *The Voice of Coloured Labour* we have a record of the specific claims of the colonial working classes as voiced at the World Trade Union Conference held in February, 1945, in London. Michelet's *African Empires and Civilisation* is a reprint of the author's chapter of the same title from Nancy Cunard's *Negro: An Anthology.* Raymond is a descendant of the famous French historian Jules Michelet (1798-1874) and he brings to his account of the history of African civilization—Ghana,



Sosso, Songhai, etc.—the same scholarly fervor which his illustrious ancestor lavished upon his *Histoire de France.*

The White Man's Duty first appeared in 1942 and the present edition, the second, brings the discussion and facts abreast of the times. Use of the question and answer method enables Miss Cunard, who asks the questions and George Padmore, who answers them, to give a brilliant resumé of the *modus operandi* and objectives of European imperialism. It is a story of intrigue, mendacity, subterfuge, economic pressure, and barbarism.

Though France ranks next to Britain in the magnitude of her pilferings from the "backward peoples," she has, perhaps because of a higher degree of racial liberalism, succeeded in escaping anything like the volume of criticism leveled against the British. France, unlike England, does welcome a minuscule gallicized élite into the ranks of the exploiters, yet this ethnic liberalism in no way softens French exploitation of, to use one of their phrases, the *bushmen et pleins couillons*—"bush apes and damn dolts." And M. Alcandre shows in *The Problem of Frenchmen Beyond the Seas and the Intercolonial Front* that French colonies have some of the aspects of a vast concentration camp.

M. Alcandre's chief charges are inadequate education, veiled slavery, depopulation of vast areas, inadequate health and sanitation measures, and the deplorable divisions made among her "subjects." Our author points out that all inhabitants of the British Empire are subjects of His British Majesty, but not so with France, who has citizens, colonials (two grades), protegés, natives, and subjects. A native may graduate with a professional degree from a French university, yet find it impossible to practice his profession in France unless he becomes a naturalized citizen. Citizens join the army and wear helmets and shoes; but the natives when they join up go barefoot and wear the chéchia. Discriminations of this sort abound throughout the whole colonial system and they form the substance of M. Alcandre's *livret.*

J. W. Ivy

Two White Men?

(Continued from page 10)

that "this board will have to pass on you, and we register who we want to register."

We went to the probate judge's office and told him that we had been referred to him for an interpretation of whether the "or" in the state constitution meant "and" and the judge replied that it did, adding "that you must have both the property as well as the literacy qualification." He was then asked whether all of the voters on the qualified list had the property qualification. He evaded this question and told us that he knew everything about beef cattle and tags for automobiles. I asked whether or not they ever purged the list of voters, and he replied "only once a year." I asked if the question of whether the person was a holder of $300 worth of property when the list was purged was ever considered. Again he refused to answer but stated that we were only trying to get him into an argument with the board of registrars.

And Vs. Or

With still no information on whether *or* meant *and,* I started preparation for filing an appeal to have my qualifications as an elector determined. That same afternoon the telephone rang and I was told that if I would go down town that afternoon I would be able to get my registration certificate. The caller asked me not to divulge his name, if I contemplated court action. (This step had evidently been taken to forestall court action.) I did not go down town that afternoon and the next morning I received another telephone call, this time, from the board of registrars telling me to "come down about 10:00 o'clock, we got some more questions we would like to ask you." I replied, "Thank you very much."

The above experience is not unusual. It is on the contrary the usual thing for a Negro to be denied the right to register. It takes various forms but the end result is always the same.

Jamaican Crisis

(Continued from page 15)

nicipal offices and the BITU has undertaken to organize workers in jurisdictions claimed by the TUC.

As a matter of fact most of the energy which was formerly expended in criticism of colonial rule or imperialism now goes into a struggle between contending Negro leaders. The unfortunate aspect of this conflict is that it is based so largely on personal antagonisms. Overcoming the barriers resulting from strong differences in fundamental social and economic policies would have prevented a major problem to those Jamaicans desiring to unify the public behind a program to pull Jamaica out of the mire. On matters concerning social and economic developments, Bustamante pretty largely has followed, though somewhat hesitantly, the leadership of the top men in the civil service. The JLP has no well defined policy of its own and Bustamante, Pixley and the recognized leaders of the JLP leaders are too busy with trade union battles to think their way through Jamaica's perplexing problems to a comprehensive program.

The top men in the civil service, Governor John Huggins, and such men as the island's Secretary and Treasurer, its Attorney General, and various technical experts have been sent into Jamaica by the British colonial office with the general instruction to make the constitution work and to push social development and welfare. There is no reason to believe they are not doing as well as might be expected of a group of civil servants caught between what is fundamentally a battle between the "haves" and "have nots."

The apparent agreement between Bustamante and members of the Executive Council has led the PNP to charge that a deal has been made which would give Bustamante a free hand in his efforts to destroy the TUC. It is a fact that the BITU does obtain recognition and bargaining conferences from gov-

ernment officials much more easily than does the TUC.

Not by a long shot does this mean that the most harmonious relations exist between the Governor and the nominated members of the Executive Council on one hand and the elected members led by Bustamante on the other. Under the new constitution the two groups must agree on legislation which must be submitted to the lower house for final enactment. To a man as wilful, as expansive, and as strong for direct action as Bustamante, the need to consider the views of the nominated and official members of the government is most irritating. It is humanly impossible for the five elected members of the Executive Council to master the heavy load of complicated and technical work referred to it by the House and various administrative departments, while carrying an even heavier load of work connected with the House of Representatives and the strike, bargaining, and organizing activities of the BITU. Even if this handicap were removed as most certainly it should be, the superior training and experience of the top colonial officials and the representatives of business on the Legislative Council would give them considerable advantage over the LP representatives. These elements are not pressing their advantage. The inclination is to cooperate with the JLP to the greatest extent possible. They will do nothing to push these JLP into the arms of Socialism.

In a recent House debate on the ten-year development plan Bustamante shouted with reference to the Executive Council:

> I am there only by force because my members say so, because if I were not there it would be bad for the country, but if there is one place from which I want to resign, if there is one place that I hate, that I despise, that I scorn, it is the Executive Council.
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> I do not say that to mean that I am against the Imperial Government. God forbid. I love the empire but I do not worship it. More than all I am loyal to it, but if I went to the Executive Council and asked that a big man's pay be increased, I would get all the support that I want, but if I said improve the five-shilling per day man, improve the condition of lower subordinate staffs, my request would not only be met with scorn, but with opposition.
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> • • •
>
> My blood boils every day I sit there.
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> • • •

Despite their restraint, the top colonial officials appointed by the crown are also irritated by the very forceful and somewhat presumptuous manner in which the Honorable Bustamante displays his power and influence in the island. In trying to arrange less disruptive procedures for settling the unending disputes between the islands largest employers and the BITU, the officials have been irritated by Bustamante's recalcitrant and provocative behavior.

Manslaughter Charge

During the month of June, 1946, Bustamante and his associate Frank Pixley were tried for manslaughter connected with the death of a member of the TUC. A coroner's jury found that the two top Bustamante Industrial Trade Union and Jamaica Labor Party leaders were guilty of leading a mob on February 15, 1946, to a mental hospital to break by force a strike of attendants affiliated with the TUC. A fight ensued, there was shooting, two men were killed and 17 patients at the hospital burned to death when the hospital was set afire by the inmates.

TUC members in the Kingston fire department and in several other departments of the goverment went out on strike protesting "against the high-handed methods" of Bustamante. The TUCites had vowed to fight the Bustamante followers "in their bedrooms and under their beds." Civil disorder became so widespread that the Governor was forced to declare the existence of an emergency to break the strikes. The Bustamante-controlled members of the Executive Council supported the order. Later when the verdict of the coroner's jury was announced, BITU members went out on strike in protest against finding their leader guilty.

During a court trial of the charges against Bustamante and Pixley in June, both were acquitted. Thousands of BITU members tied up shipping, factory and estate operation to travel 40 miles to Port Maria to attend the trial. Before the trial Bustamante had boasted publicly "They cannot destroy me!"

There were numerous other conflicts between the BITU and the TUC. Frequently the conflicts between the followers of the two organizations often resulted in fatal cuttings and shootings. During March Bustamante pushed through the legislature more rigid regulations controlling the issuance, possession, and sale of fire arms. He charged that every third TUC member carried gun. Assassination plots were discovered against Bustamante himelf.

Proper Recognition

In the face of the alleged difficulty of getting proper recognition of it status as a union and a Bustamante "reign of treror", the Trade Union Council and deputy chairman of the PNP took action which responsible Jamaican leaders think is a serious menace to progress toward self-government in the immediate future. Mr. N. N. Nethersole, president of the TUC, hopped off to London and placed before officials in the colonial office and before those in the Labor Party, the charge that the Jamaican government is completely subservient to Bustamante and the BITU, that opposition groups could not get justice in the island, and that London officials should take action to see that Jamaica is run as they think it should have been. Thus the groups which had long championed the cause of self-government were the first to call upon the imperial power to exert its authority to restrain a popular leader.

The *Manchester Guardian*, one of the most influential papers in the British Empire, gave prominent display to a most unfavorable investigation made by its reporter, Professor Simey. Labor Party officials with particular interest in colonial affairs felt their worst fears about Bustamante had been confirmed —that he is essentially a Fascist. To date Bustamante has neglected to present his views to the British public.

In the midst of all this turmoil and distraction from the main problem confronting them, the people of Jamaica through their legislature were being required to work out long range and immediate plans for their development and welfare. Here also the division between the two political groups was sharp and irreconciliable. The Labor Party is trying to follow a doctrine of private enterprise while satisfying the ever increasing demands of the Jamaican people for land, jobs, higher wages, and social security. The compromises with those who monopolize the island's trade and production, and other half measures of the JLP provoke both ridicule and criticism from the PNP. The latter wants the government to redistribute the land on the larger estates, foster and operate essential busines enterprise and shift the burden of taxation to those who control the wealth of the island.

As violence between the followers of Bustamante and Manley flares up from week to week, the public in both England and America through the daily press is constantly reminded of the failure of self-government in Jamaica. The situation plays right into the hands of those foreign and local business interests who wanted no measure of their political and economic control taken out of their hands.

In other British colonies, both in the West Indies and in Africa, encouraging though hesitant steps are being made to increase Negro participation in the operation of local governments. The question which responsible colonial officials in London are asking themselves is whether Jamaica is ready for the political power she now enjoys, not to mention granting her more. And if now Jamaica, after nearly 300 years of colonial rule and assimilation of English culture, is not ready, then what predominantly Negro colony is?

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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